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Chairman: Mr. MROZIEWICZ (Poland)

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General debate, consideration of and action on draft resolutions on international security agenda items (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 67 AND 68 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA ITEMS

Mr. MONGBE (Benin) (interpretation from French): At this stage of our work, which you, Mr. President, are guiding so ably, the delegation of Benin would like to express its views on the items of our agenda that relate to international security. Strengthening that security by preserving peace and promoting international cooperation has been the focus of our Organization's concern ever since it was established "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

When the cold war began, however, because of bloc politics and ideological rivalries in a world where political, economic and military interests clashed, the concern of Member States for their own security became paramount and was reflected in national arrangements, including military arrangements, to cope with any real or potential threat to vital national interests. That gave rise to the increased sophistication and stockpiling of armaments, including nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, which resulted in a balance of terror in relations between States, confrontation through proxies in so-called regional conflicts, paralysis of the United Nations role in preserving and strengthening international peace and security, and thus a failure to use the potential of the United Nations for dealing with nascent or latent conflicts.

Today we can affirm that the cold war is over. Confrontation and rivalry are increasingly being replaced by understanding, political dialogue and international cooperation, and that positive evolution of the international political climate is being manifested in a renewal of interest in the role

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played by the United Nations with a view to strengthening international peace and security. Thus the Security Council was able to demonstrate its effectiveness and its authority when it shouldered its responsibility for dealing with the first threat to international peace and security to arise during the post-cold-war period, namely, aggression by one Member State against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another in what has now become known as the Gulf war.

The Secretary-General was also able to undertake peace missions that helped or will help to dampen hotbeds of tension, such as the mission that will settle the future status of Western Sahara, the one that is already leading to national reconciliation in Cambodia after years of fratricidal conflict, the one that is responsible for ensuring compliance with the cease-fire in Angola or the one that has been carried on for the three-way release of hostages in the Middle East.

Equally significant has been the General Assembly's support for the restoration of constitutional legality in Haiti following the military coup of 30 September 1991, which forced into exile a President who had been democratically and peacefully elected a few months earlier thanks to an observer mission from the United Nations.

Furthermore, there is a heightened perception of the need to base security policies no longer on the constant build-up of weapons or on military and strategic superiority but rather on joint efforts to ensure substantial and balanced reductions in armaments at levels compatible with legitimate defense needs. Thus, in the area of disarmament, there have been many initiatives - unilateral, bilateral, regional and even multilateral - that have enabled us to move from a freeze on weapons to the reduction and control of weapons with a view to preventing their proliferation.

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Here I wish to mention specifically the Security Council decisions on eliminating Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and the total embargo on arms exports to Yugoslavia, which at present is plunged into civil war; the draft resolution that our Committee will soon submit to the General Assembly for approval, calling on the Secretary-General to establish and maintain at United Nations Headquarters a universal and non-discriminatory register of conventional arms, to include production and stockpiles, international transfers and delivery systems as well as transfers of armaments technology, pending the preparation of a register which would include weapons of mass destruction and other weapons. The objective is to encourage confidence, which is already being reflected in some parts of the world by measures for integration through cooperation and the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of cooperation and peace, such as that of the South Atlantic, of which Benin is a coastal State.

Despite those welcome initiatives and positive actions, made possible by the end of the cold war and by the spirit of cooperation and understanding that now exists between former antagonists, international peace and security are still fragile. Dangerous hotbeds of tension still exist because of territorial claims, ethnic conflicts, the rise of minorities and national groups, social and political injustices, violations of human rights, the increasing sophistication and proliferation of weapons, including nuclear weapons, foreign debt, impoverishment, environmental degradation, the deterioration of the social fabric owing to drug trafficking and drug abuse, crime and other factors.

How can we preserve the newly restored peace for the benefit of all, weak and strong, small and large, except through the effective operation of a regime of collective security based on the Charter, which, in relations

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between States, recommends respect for the rules and principles of international law, political dialogue and international cooperation? My delegation therefore supports the General Assembly's Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and feels that its effective implementation will require strengthening the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of world peace and security. The Secretary-General's tireless efforts to attain the United Nations ideals of peace and justice have unquestionably proved their contribution to the advent of today's new international political climate. But the United Nations can fully play its role only in so far as Member States abide by the principles governing friendly relations and cooperation between States.

Benin has never believed in the effectiveness of using force in international relations. We feel that improved military technology and modern methods of communication have made the security of our States increasingly vulnerable, including those States that possess nuclear weapons, for even they cannot provide their citizens with a 100-per-cent guarantee of security. Moreover, no State and no group of States, however powerful, can guarantee its own security by force without infringing on the security of others.

Anxious to live in peace, we in Benin believe in the policy of good-neighbourliness, cooperation and dialogue, which, in our relations with our immediate neighbours, is reflected in regular summit meetings to discuss matters of common interest and joint ministerial missions to make our frontier populations more aware of the need to create the conditions of peace and security necessary for carrying out the tasks of socio-economic development. The same spirit led to the quadripartite agreement enabling four countries of our West African subregion, namely, Ghana, Nigeria, Togo and Benin, to

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strengthen their cooperation in security matters and thus prevent the danger of building up any tension between them.

Is not prevention always better than cure? The world understood this readily from the difficulties encountered by the coalition of Member States that had quite properly helped Kuwait restore its sovereignty, in keeping with the relevant Security Council resolutions. Not only was Iraq destroyed, having invaded Kuwait, which was then liberated, but Kuwait, too, is in ruins. For that reason, my delegation shares the view that the practice of preventive diplomacy will enable our Organization to strengthen international security. As the Secretary-General states in his annual report on the work of the Organization, that approach not only has the advantage of serving to prevent potential conflicts and flagrant mass violations of human rights and to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes through mediation, good offices and conciliation but also implies that the Security Council's agenda will contain items besides those formally placed on it at the request of the State or States involved. Moreover, it presupposes maximum use of the full potential of the United Nations, including recourse to its main judicial body, the International Court of Justice, since latent political crises often involve some legal elements.

Over-arming is a constant source of insecurity; in addition to depriving the world of essential resources needed for its socio-economic development, contributing to the exacerbation of conflicts and the heightening of tensions, and enabling anti-democratic regimes to cling to power by coercion despite the wishes of the majority, it also increases the danger that a horrifying catastrophe for mankind will be brought about by accident. Therefore, in

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playing its decisive role in strengthening international security, the United Nations must continue its efforts to draw up a genuine treaty on general and complete disarament under international control.

We are convinced that disarmament can free substantial resources to halt the deterioration of the world's socio-economic situation, which is a major non-military threat to international security, since the interdependence that marks international relations is such that socio-economic factors also undermine international stability. If growth rates fall, or fail to rise, the world may be drawn into a vicious circle of tensions and crises, with a breakdown of political and social cohesion, which in turn can lead to civil war and inter-State conflict.

Therefore, the collective-security regime must take account of the development dimension in international security, through a reorganization of international economic relations on a just and equitable basis - in other words, in a way that will provide growth for all. Such reorganization will require an immediate resumption of the North-South dialogue. In that regard, our joint efforts to restructure and revitalize the socio-economic organs of the United Nations are an encouraging step forward.

International security today must be collective, but to be effective, it also requires contributions from the various regional entities that make up our community; the various initiatives to promote and strengthen confidence, security and cooperation in various regions must be encouraged and developed, particularly with the lessening of extra-regional rivalries, which during the cold war had an impact beyond the boundaries of the regions involved. Such an arrangement, which has already emerged in Europe, until recently the scene of East-West antagonism, was the very welcome outcome of the first Helsinki summit in 1975.

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The Helsinki summit laid the basis for security by promoting relations in such areas as the economy, environmental protection and the protection of human rights, under the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). Those arrangements also contributed to the peaceful democratic revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe, and it is in the CSCE context that Europe is making commendable efforts to restore peace and security in Yugoslavia. Thus, it is necessary to follow the CSCE example and promote security- and confidence-building measures and cooperation in all regions - naturally taking into account their particular characteristics.

Africa faces enormous problems that undermine its security and thus the security of the world. On 17 and 18 November 1990 a meeting was held at Addis Ababa under the chairmanship of Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Chairman of the Africa Leadership Forum, to develop ideas on launching a process of security, stability and cooperation in Africa. The conclusions reached at that meeting led the Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at their last summit, held at Abuja, Nigeria, to lay the political foundation for integration and for the establishment of the African Economic Community, which we feel can build confidence and security. We would like to be able to count on the support of the international community in attaining that objective.

In addressing the question of strengthening security in Africa, a continent that also belongs to the Mediterranean world, my delegation cannot fail to speak to the item entitled "Strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region", an item which has always been among our concerns. The Mediterranean basin is the site of the world's highest military and nuclear concentration; it serves as a theatre for shows of force, posing a

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threat to international security. It is time we worked together to eliminate the threat of military confrontation and tension in that region, by settling conflicts in the Middle East, Palestine and Cyprus, by gradually reducing economic disparities in the region, and by bolstering cooperation with a view to building confidence and security, among other measures.

Mr. MAHMOUD (Ethiopia): Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to congratulate you and your fellow officers on your commendable performance. Much has already been achieved. We have no doubt that you will bring the work of our Committee to a successful conclusion.

One of the virtues of the Reykjavik approach to the resolution of international problems was its attempt to view global problems as comprehensively as possible. When the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union decided to deal with a mixed bag of problems, many doubted the efficacy of the method they adopted. Yet the strength of their approach was its ability to look at global problems comprehensively. Indeed, conflicts with serious implications for international peace and security cannot be viewed only from the military or quasi-military point of view. If an ultimate solution is to be devised with a view to eliminating the real causes of the conflict, then all related humanitarian questions must be taken into account.

Since the historic meeting between the two leading Powers there have been a number of positive developments. The most notable is in the realm of the resolution of regional conflicts. In that field, the previous adversaries worked hand in hand in a common effort to resolve the many intractable problems associated with such conflicts. Perhaps the most spectacular result was the political process that led to the deployment of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia. Although the leading Powers had a

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more conspicuous role to play in that process, a number of countries from the immediate vicinity contributed their share. Another process for peace was that devised for Angola, meant to bring national reconciliation to a country which had had more than its share of suffering. In that process the complementary contributions made by statesmen from the region are laudable.

In Central America, the contribution made by the leaders of the subregion is truly admirable. The peace process in that subregion was protracted, but a solution was ultimately devised that took into account all the components of the problem.

In Western Sahara, the diplomatic efforts made by the Secretary-General have borne fruitful results. Today the United Nations has deployed a peace-keeping team with a view to conducting a referendum in that Territory.

In Cambodia, a painstaking effort, involving a flurry of diplomatic movement, has been under way. Today the five permanent members of the Security Council, as well as the most directly concerned States in the area, continue to make a last-ditch effort with a view to deploying a United Nations team to conduct free and fair elections and laying a solid foundation for the reconciliation of the people of Cambodia. Quietly but with determination the United Nations is making the necessary preparatory efforts.

Most gratifying to us is the involvement of the United Nations in the resolution of many nagging regional conflicts. We are also encouraged by the increasingly frequent resort to the good offices of the Secretary-General. And the renewed sense of partnership demonstrated by the permament members of the Security Council is without doubt encouraging. We are very pleased with the renewed dynamism of the Security Council. It is quite apparent that the potential of the United Nations can be better harnessed now that the

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Organization is shielded against the chill winds of the cold war. Today our universal Organization is not confined only to peace-keeping operations. In fact, in the last few years it has effectively contributed to peace, making efforts that included the monitoring of elections and of human rights. These are indeed good days for the United Nations.

As the lessons drawn from previous efforts aimed at the resolution of conflicts show, peace is indivisible, and its attainment is feasible only when all concerned parties are involved. Above all, we must remember that what is workable for one region may not be effective for another. Yet there are common problems that ought to be subjected to a single formula. That is why the spirit of Helsinki is pervading the air in many regions of the world.

We believe that security must be understood in all its dimensions. Due regard must be given to non-military factors with a bearing on security. It is also our considered view that the maintenance of international security is not the exclusive turf of the powerful. As global problems are interrelated, all nations big and small, developed and developing, can make their contributions. That is why transparency in matters affecting peace and security is of paramount importance.

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For many years my own country was embroiled in a war that wreaked havoc on its natural and human resources. Today, I am happy to inform you that the guns are silent. In fact, from 1 to 5 July of this year an all-party conference was held in Addis Ababa. That conference adopted a charter that will be the basis of governance until a constitution is drafted and elections conducted, within two years. In the spirit of the Charter, which bans any form of destabilization of neighbouring countries, a concerted effort is being made not only to live at peace with ourselves but also to live in harmony with our neighbours. In that spirit the Transitional Government has lifted all visa requirements of all the citizens of neighbouring countries. All this will, we hope, contribute to the maintenance of peace and security in our immediate region.

Mr. ORDONEZ (Philippines): At no time in history has the international community, acting through the United Nations, exhibited the kind of resolve and produced the kind of results in the area of peacemaking and peacekeeping as we are witnessing today. In the Gulf crisis last year and this year, in Namibia the year before and now in Cambodia, the global concert of nations has progressed from the cacophony of the past to the increasing harmony of the present. For the United Nations, the result has been a reinvigorated role.

In his 1991 report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary General noted that:

> "world leaders assembled at three recent summit conferences in London, Abuja and Guadalajara issued declarations recognizing the central place of the United Nations in the international system and solemnly affirmed their reliance on it." (A/46/1, p. 4)

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Meanwhile, even as we in the developing world watch super-Power conflicts diminish, we are now finding more latitude in focusing our attention on regional concerns. My delegation therefore calls upon the First Committee to intensify discussion and forge consensus on new regional approaches to the issue of security. The United Nations Charter, in Articles 33 and 52, recognizes the role of regional arrangements in the peaceful settlement of disputes. We are pleased to note that, consonant with this, the Secretary-General has stated in his 1991 report that the Secretariat has given high priority to organizing regional and interregional meetings as a way of exploring solutions tailored to the distinctive needs of the respective regions and subregions. My delegation welcomes that statement.

The efficacy of that approach is borne out by the positive progress in the Mediterranean. We note with satisfaction, for instance, that during the deliberations on the agenda item entitled "Strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region", statements were unanimous in pointing out that there is a need for linkage between regional and international peace and security. Among the recommendations in the document entitled "Principles of a common Mediterranean policy" (A/46/523 and Corr.1, annex), which the European Parliament adopted on 17 May 1991, is one urging "measures to encourage and promote dialogue and relations between the Mediterranean populations at various levels, including Governments, local authorities and civil groups". (ibid., para. 17)

For our part, in the Asia-Pacific area our continuing search for regional security arrangements has led us to an intensification of dialogue and consultations among ourselves as well as with cooperating States.

At Bandung, Indonesia, last January, the Regional Disarmament Workshop for Asia and the Pacific took place. This was followed by a symposium on the

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changing role of the United Nations in conflict resolution and peace-keeping, which was held at Singapore in March. On May 27 a United Nations conference on disarmament at Kyoto, Japan, was keynoted by our own Foreign Secretary, Mr. Raul S. Manglapus. A week later, on 5 to 6 June, a Manila seminar on the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN)and the Asia Pacific Region focused on the prospects for security cooperation in the 1990s. And just this month a roundtable on regional security cooperation in South-East Asia was held at Bangkok, Thailand. That series of consultations and meetings on security-related issues adds up to an average of one every two months, surely a record for our region.

It is my delegation's hope that such initiatives will lead to new and more effective arrangements that will bring about a more durable peace and security in our region as well as in other regions. Towards that end, the Philippine Foreign Secretary, Raul S. Manglapus, proposed to the ASEAN Ministers Meeting in July 1990 that political-security issues be taken up at future meetings.

At about the same time last year similar initiatives for the Asia-Pacific region were advanced in various forums - notably by Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, who called for a dialogue between countries of the East Asia corridor; by former Secretary of State for External Affairs Joe Clark, who urged that a North Pacific exchange be initiated, and by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who proposed the holding of a conference of foreign ministers in the region in 1993.

In the wake of all this, there is now a heightened consciousness in our region concerning security matters. The July ASEAN Ministers Meeting at Kuala Lumpur, for instance, took note of the increasing interest in peace and security in South-East Asia and reiterated its view that the Zone of Peace,

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Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in South-East Asia and the Post-Ministerial Conference are appropriate bases for addressing those issues. It is well known, of course, that the Philippines, together with its ASEAN partners, has been actively promoting ZOPFAN and the Treaty of Amity as the twin pillars in the creation of regional peace in South-East Asia.

It has been said many times over - and my delegation wishes to restate it once more - that regional initiatives should come from within the region, based on the principles of sovereign equality, with full participation of the States concerned. While our view is to maintain existing arrangements, we are at the same time committed to continue and sustain this process of consultation and dialogue as a means of developing trust and confidence and mutual respect for our respective security concerns.

Another aspect that the First Committee should examine is the role of conflict prevention to ensure peace and stability in the emerging new world order. The newly forged cooperation between the super-Powers in the wake of the breaking down of ideological barriers has lessened tensions to some degree, but it has not brought about the cessation of conflicts as many had hoped. On the contrary, we are now witnessing strifes brought about by the revival of deep-seated and historical conflicts.

These occurrences suggest that earnest efforts must be undertaken to strengthen existing mechanisms, both global and regional, not only to resolve conflicts but also to prevent disputes long before they arise. The role of "preventive diplomacy" by the United Nations should be seriously explored, along with concepts already proposed in the past, such as early-warning mechanisms through global watch and by trip-wires that would trigger

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preventive measures where trouble spots may develop. It is important that the United Nations peacemaking and peacekeeping capabilities be enhanced.

In this period of transition from confrontation to cooperation, vigilance and anticipatory planning are essential. We must not merely react. We must not be lulled into thinking that an absence of conflict will produce security and stability ipso facto. We cannot even presume that peace dividends are forthcoming. We must work to bring this about, so that the broader concept of security, which includes the economic and other developmental concerns, may be fulfilled.

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The regional concerns and contexts vary. In Eastern Europe, it may be peaceful transformation from centrally-governed to democratic systems, and domestic restructuring of centrally-planned into free-market economies. In other regions, the overriding concerns may be pervasive transnational issues such as environmental threats, drug trafficking, organized crime, ethnic rivalries, humanitarian emergencies, and the mass exodus of populations.

In this connection, my delegation wishes to reaffirm the continuing validity of the 1970 Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which recognized the interdependence of political, military, socio-economic, environmental, technological and humanitarian dimensions of security.

We agree with the view expressed by the Permanent Representative of Brazil in his recent statement that the Declaration:

> "reflects, on the one hand, the foresight of those who drafted it, but also, on the other hand, what laggards we have been in implementing its recommendations". (A/C.1/46/PV.40, p. 13)

The time is ripe for the operationalization of these concepts and approaches. Recent studies and commissioned reports bear this out: the Brandt Commission report on North-South relations, the report of the Palme Commission on disarmament and security, and the Brundtland report on environment and development.

The latest of these independent reports, the Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance, has this to say on the proposed new order:

> "If we are to give a new global security order a chance, we must at the same time start to deal with challenges to security other than political rivalry and armaments. We must realize that there is a wider concept of security, which deals also with threats that stem from failures in

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development, environmental degradation, excessive population growth and movement, and lack of progress towards democracy. Only with such a wider concept of security can we find ways of securing a lasting world peace." This is in accordance with our view that the concept of peace and security must be broader than the mere reduction or elimination of conflict, that it must enable peoples to apply their energies and resources towards development, and that it must provide the motive force for the reinvigoration of the Earth's environment.

International security is increasingly assuming global dimensions that require global perspectives anchored in regional approaches. We therefore call for more partnership and cooperation if the international security challenges of the future are to be addressed successfully.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukraine) (interpretation from Russian): Speaking for the first time in this Committee, I take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the important post of Chairman of the First Committee. You have already demonstrated your great diplomatic and personal abilities. Poland and Ukraine are neighbours and have age-old ties of friendship and cooperation, and Poland was one of the first countries to recognize the State sovereignty of Ukraine and to state its desire to have diplomatic relations with Ukraine. I wish you further successes in your important tasks.

The delegation of Ukraine would like to declare that of particular importance in confirming the new world order is abiding by the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV)). Not one of the 27 paragraphs of that Declaration has become irrelevant today. This can be seen in the need for full respect for the sovereignty of States and the rights of people to determine their own future

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without outside intervention, and the obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force. There is also a recognition of the need to take effective measures, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, to prevent and remove threats to the peace and to crush acts of aggression. There is an appeal to halt and reverse the arms race, both nuclear and conventional. Of course, there is a recognition of the paramount role of the obligations of State Members of the United Nations, under the Organization's Charter, and confirmation of the unquestionable value of the purposes and principles of the Charter as the basis for inter-State relations.

All of those provisions of the Declaration - which has stood the test of 20 years - now have an opportunity to be fully applied in practice by States. This can be achieved through the disappearance of the ideological confrontation and the increasing understanding of the fact that war is unacceptable as a means for settling disputes, and through affirmation of the broad recognition of the increasingly indivisible nature of security.

International security must be the same for all States and in all ways: military, political, socio-economic, scientific and technological, ecological and humanitarian. Today, the situation is such that there is not one single State in the world, neither the strongest nor the weakest, that can guarantee its own security by national means alone. A satisfactory solution to many aspects of security is possible only on a multilateral basis through collective effort. In view of the growing interdependence of our modern world, many aspects of the world and the life of the international community are becoming increasingly international in nature. This includes the content of such a concept as national security, which can be guaranteed only within the context of agreed and joint efforts by States.

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At this session, our delegation has already had an opportunity to state the views of Ukraine on ways of strengthening security in all its aspects - nuclear and conventional disarmament and the requirements of broad cooperation in the economic, ecological and social areas. I would like to add the following to what we have already said.

In Ukraine, we are proposing the establishment of our armed forces in three stages, which will take about five or six years. We will need a legal basis for this, and will have to hold talks with the Ministry of Defence of the USSR in order to draft and sign the relevant agreements. And of course we will also need to hold talks with our neighbour Republics: Russia, Belarus and Moldavia. Ukraine will participate fully in the financing, equipping and supplying of the strategic armed forces deployed on its territory, and we will have our own military contingent, financing, equipping and supplying our border forces, internal forces, and those guarding the railroads, which have already been shifted to our jurisdiction. By 1992, Ukraine will be paying fully for these forces.

Speaking on the question of having our own armed forces, Mr. Kravchuk, President of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, said:

> "We envisage our army as being comprised of under 100,000 men. In addition to this, we will have our border forces and national guard. Thus, what we may end up with is about 160,000 Ukrainians in our armed forces, who will be directly answerable to the Ukrainian Ministry of Defence. We will be establishing a mechanism for interaction between these forces and our strategic forces."

I would now like to comment on the priorities on our priorities on the global, regional, subregional and national levels in ensuring stable conditions for the peaceful development of Ukraine as an independent State.

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At the global level, in any model of collective efforts to ensure the most reliable level of security the United Nations must play a key role. The renaissance of the United Nations and its irreplaceable role in halting the conflict in the Persian Gulf, settling the problem of Namibia and making progress in solving many complex issues in other regions and countries, ranging from Nicaragua to Angola, from Western Sahara to Cambodia, show that the United Nations system is a reliable actor in ensuring the peaceful development of all peoples under conditions of good-neighbourliness, mutual assistance and mutual respect.

Security in this new world must be provided by political means, by consultations, cooperation and - this is very important - within the framework of the United Nations and the agencies in the United Nations system. By joint efforts we can help to confirm the new international order, based on common human values and recognized principles of international law, while not recognizing the imposition of will, arbitrary action and hegemonism, refraining from sabre-rattling in international affairs and from the threat or use of force. Now more than ever before there is a real chance that the rule of law can be applied in international life. Democratic methods can now be firmly established. Diktat has crumbled once and for all.

There are still a few cases of attempts to impose the old kind of policy by force. Under those circumstances the United Nations must be ready to take effective preventive action. Ukraine, like many other neutral and non-aligned States, does not have large armed forces available to it. In seeking a guarantee of its independence and defending itself against any possible infringements or attacks from outside it counts very seriously on assistance and support which would be provided by the United Nations in keeping with its

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Charter. A more effective United Nations will give States an opportunity to guarantee their security at the very lowest level of armaments. In other words, all States would have a defence capacity; each country would have the same opportunities to defend itself, but no State would have the capacity to attack another.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance to our national security of disarmament measures, the strengthening of trust and the development of comprehensive cooperation under conditions of peace, good-neighbourliness and mutual understanding. These are measures that have been taken in the region by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), involving Europe, the United States and Canada. This process has made it possible for countries in Central and Eastern Europe, including Ukraine, to choose a path of true independence, self-determination and democratic choice, in keeping with the stated will of our people.

On 1 December - next Sunday - the people of Ukraine will state their views on the parliamentary Act of 24 August this year declaring an independent Ukrainian State. The first steps taken by independent Ukraine in the international arena have convinced us that the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris for a New Europe and all other documents relating to the CSCE process are reliable and irreplaceable instruments for us as we join the family of independent States and, together with them, build friendly relations of good-neighbourliness on the basis of mutual benefit, partnership and cooperation.

Our experience and the experience of other European States shows convincingly that the following are absolute requirements for ensuring national and international security: the inviolability of borders; refraining

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from territorial claims against any other country; increased attention to ensuring the rights of national minorities, including effective measures to prevent any lingering discrimination against any of them; and ensuring they have conditions for exercising and preserving their ethnic, religious and cultural ways. They are all an inseparable part of a policy of good-neighbourliness.

As regards the subregional aspects of security, in Ukraine they mean at least one thing: Ukraine must be surrounded by friends. We believe that the sincerity of our intentions has been demonstrated to Russia, Belarus, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Moldavia and our Black Sea neighbours - Bulgaria, Turkey and Georgia. As always happens with neighbours, we are bound by common borders, but we also have common problems, and it is easier to solve those problems together. Ukraine attaches paramount importance to establishing and developing friendly relations with our neighbours on a bilateral and multilateral basis. This includes stepping up our cooperative activities in relation to the Black Sea and Danube areas and carrying out measures agreed on within the context of the CSCE and the relevant Soviet-American agreements.

As was noted in the letter sent earlier this month by the President of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, Mr. Leonid Kravchuk, to the Heads of State of a number of neighbours, Ukraine is working for the conclusion of the convention to ban chemical weapons and for the acceleration of conventional disarmament in Europe, all in keeping with the doctrine of a minimum level of defensive capacity. We have also confirmed our willingness to follow up measures in the 1991 Treaty on limiting and reducing strategic offensive weapons and the 1990 Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. We shall also be taking

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measures for the imminent implementation and entry into force of those instruments.

In this connection, Ukraine is relying on the fact that the members of the CSCE, taking account of the realities of today and the results of the referendum in Ukraine, will at the forthcoming CSCE ministerial meeting take a positive decision on full participation by Ukraine in the all-European process. It is simple logic that, since common European agreements cannot be implemented without the direct participation of Ukraine, such instruments cannot be prepared without such participation by Ukraine.

At the European level and at the world level new participants are entering upon the scene, many in a new capacity. What we need is political dialogue and carefully detailed work to establish a new united Europe and new security for the entire continent. Ukraine will be an active participant in building a new Europe, recalling that what is happening in Europe is of tremendous importance to global processes as well.

I should now like to make a few comments on the internal aspects of our security.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukraine)

Ukraine will soon begin a broad programme of converting our defence industries and a significant part of our military-industrial capacity to social and economic development. Our policy will be to eliminate completely the nuclear weapons and components now deployed in Ukrainian territory.

As we have already announced, in order to protect the independence, rights and freedoms of our citizens, our territorial integrity and the interests of our State, the Parliament of Ukraine has decided to establish a Ukrainian armed force. As my delegation emphasized earlier in the First Committee, the establishment of the Ukrainian army will lead to a significant reduction in the armed forces and armaments in Ukrainian territory, which will be a genuine contribution to the strengthening of the European trend towards disarmament and to efforts aimed at achieving regional and world-wide stability.

We also note with satisfaction that one of the first foreign-policy decisions of independent Ukraine, the decision to make our State non-nuclear, confirmed by our Parliament's Declaration of 24 October 1991 "On the non-nuclear status of Ukraine", has the full support of the international community; it will strengthen our neighbours' confidence in us and provide a firm foundation for mutual security.

The Mediterranean region is an important factor in international security. Ukraine, as a Black Sea State, and consequently a Mediterranean State as well, is interested in broad-based dialogue and collaboration among all the States of that region with a view to making it a zone of peace, security and cooperation. Non-military factors too are important to strengthening security in the Mediterranean region: comprehensive development of regional cooperation in economic development, the environment, transport,

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukraine)

tourism, culture, science and technology. That would build confidence among the peoples of the Mediterranean.

Also of great interest is the proposal made by France, Italy, Portugal and Spain concerning the possibility of convening a conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region. That could be an effective instrument for safeguarding common interests and improving relations among the countries of the region, one which attracts the interest of a number of other regions and in which many of the world's critical problems are interwoven.

The tragic events in Yugoslavia cry our for action by the United Nation system European-wide bodies to halt military activity and to find a peaceful solution, in keeping with the procedures and principles of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), for the problems that have embittered the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The interests of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East, inseparable from the fate of the Mediterranean region, prompt us to call upon the participants in the conference on peace in the Middle East to make the fullest possible use of the opportunities afforded by the negotiating process begun at the Madrid Conference in order to bring back peace and tranquillity to the countries of that region. Each side has done its part in moving to the negotiating table. The time for extravagant ambitions, bellicose declarations and implacable threats is past. Only political means can bring an end to the suffering of the Lebanese, the Syrians, the Palestinians and the Israelis. If the conflict continues, there will only be more victims and more suffering for all the parties.

The same is true of the situation in Afghanistan, where through negotiation and conciliation, moving forward towards a just settlement and

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukraine)

lasting peace step by step, from one stage to the next, overcoming suspicion and prejudice, the leaders of the parties to the dispute will and must put out the last fires of armed conflict.

The cold war, which recklessly poured great quantities of fuel on those "hot wars", is now gone from the stage of history. It is therefore logical to suppose that now, more than ever before, there is a chance to end the conflicts in the Middle East, in Afghanistan and in other parts of the world.

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to remind members that the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions is rapidly approaching.

Mr. PAK GIL YON (Democratic People's Republic of Korea): I should like first of all to commend you, Sir, for the high ability you have displayed as Chairman, thanks to which the work of the First Committee is proceeding with success.

The issue of international security, now under consideration, is one of the most important among the activities of the United Nations. Peace and security does not simply mean the absence of war and conflict. International security is a comprehensive concept. If peace and security is to live up to its real meaning, we must take into consideration not only the military aspect, but also the political, economic and social aspects such as fair international relations based on respect for the political, social and economic systems of all countries and a just international economic order.

It is noteworthy that remarkable progress has been made recently in the settlement of regional conflicts in various parts of the world. In particular we welcome the signing of the peace agreement on Cambodia. The settlement of the Cambodian issue is a great contribution to peace and security in Asia and in the world at large.

(Mr. Pak Gil Yon, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

However, the factors of political and economic instability resulting from the old international order persist. That represents a source of serious concern with respect to world peace and security. Genuine international security should be based on mutual respect, on freedom of choice of social system, and on the sovereignty of nations. There are big and small countries in the world, but there cannot be senior and junior countries. All countries should contribute to international security on an equal footing.

The critical economic situation of the developing countries can never be overlooked in the context of international security. As the world becomes more and more interdependent, it is contradictory and unjustifiable to say that the developing countries are entirely responsible for their deteriorating economies, which are exerting a negative influence on international security.

It is natural that the international community should take a multifacteted and more comprehensive approach to world peace and security. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea would like to reaffirm its commitment to joining other Member States in achieving world peace and security within the framework of the United Nations.

The most important and urgent element in international security today is peace and security on the Korean peninsula. Peace and security in Korea is directly linked to peace and security in Asia and the world at large. It assumes greater importance as the interests of the countries surrounding the peninsula are interwoven against one another.

(Mr. Pak Gil Yon, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

Certain countries still gripped by anachronistic concepts are planning to deal with the issue of peace and security in this region in such a way as to put unjust pressure upon us, isolate us, destroy our system and make their interests predominant. That is a miscalculation, and it will only result in a further aggravation of the situation. If the fragile peace is broken and a war is unleashed in Korea, it will not be good for neighbouring countries and will be a great threat to peace in Asia and the world as a whole.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has tried very hard, from the point of view of mutual interest, to create a climate for peace and security on the Korean Peninsula, where the legacy of the cold war is deeply rooted. The overriding priority for peace and security in Korea is to remove political and military confrontations on the peninsula. In other words, it is important to replace military confrontation with a stable peace structure.

We have proposed to South Korea and the United States that we enter into dialogue to settle the peace issue in the Korean Peninsula. Dialogue is the only positive means of achieving mutual understanding and trust. We have long proposed to South Korea the adoption of a non-aggression declaration between the north and south of Korea. Therefore, it is a step forward that north and south have agreed to adopt a non-aggression declaration at the fourth round of north-south high-level talks, which were held at Pyongyang last October. The adoption of the non-aggression declaration will be a starting-point for confidence-building and for the removal of political and military confrontation and will be a contribution to peace and security in Korea.

At the same time, we have proposed to the Government of the United States the holding of talks to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement. The United States is a real party to the Armistice Agreement and

(Mr. Pak Gil Yon, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

signed that Agreement with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; it is a responsible party that has been deeply involved in the Korean problem for many years. If the United States concludes a peace agreement with my country and withdraws its military troops and nuclear weapons from Korea, it would be a very important contribution and a breakthrough to peace and security in Korea.

The United Nations for its part also has an obligation to fulfil with regard to the Korean problem. South of the Military Demarcation Line that divides the peninsula, the United Nations flag is hoisted as a belligerent party opposed to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. There may, perhaps, not be many in the world who are aware of the fact that there is a United Nations force in the southern part of the Korean peninsula. Of course, the United Nations force is not under the direction of the United Nations politically, militarily or even financially, as the United Nations itself confirms. However, it is now high time the United Nations paid due attention to the Korean issue and took appropriate measures to recover its flag, which it once lent, and established a stable peace in Korea.

A climate for peaceful reunification will also be established when a non-aggression declaration is adopted between the north and the south, thus promoting reconciliation and interchange, and when the Armistice Agreement is replaced by a peace agreement and the United States force is withdrawn from South Korea. Korea should be reunified if the peace and security on the peninsula are to be complete and enduring. We think that the most reasonable and realistiic way to peaceful reunification is to achieve reunification through confederation based on one State, one nation, two governments, two systems, on the condition that the different ideologies and systems existing in the north and in the south are mutually recognized and tolerated. This is

(Mr. Pak Gil Yon, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

the approach that we think most reasonable, taking into account the objective reality existing on the Korean peninsula.

I should like to express my expectation that the United Nations and its Member States would make just and sincere contributions to peace and security in Korea.

Mr. NAIMI-ARFA (Islamic Republic of Iran): With the end of the cold war and its positive aftermath, the emergence of a better international environment and a more secure world is no longer a dream. It is a hope - a hope for the beginning of a new era, the era of the rule of international law. But the unfortunate paradox is that while global tensions are being eased by détente and cooperation among the major Powers, new areas of tension and confrontation are rapidly emerging. The alarming increases of general violence, ethnic conflicts and refugee flows are significant enough to cause international concern.

Mindful of those realities, we believe that there is still a window of opportunity to create a better world, a better tomorrow for our children. This opportunity must be seized in all urgency, however difficult it may be to do so.

If the dream of a more secure world is going to be realized, we believe the concept of security must be globalized and collectively defined, collectively designed and collectively defended. While the identification of the issues involved in this new conceptualization is the task of more qualified experts, it is important to mention the correlation of global and regional security with development, poverty and the time bomb of over-population. Because those issues are currently being studied in various governmental and non-governmental agencies and United Nations bodies, I should

(Mr. Naimi-Arfa, Islamic Republic of Iran)

like to limit my remarks to several important aspects of regional security, specifically in the Persian Gulf region.

Needless to say, efforts for the strengthening of international and regional security should be pursued concurrently, and in this regard it is important to maintain the balance between regional and global security. To that end we believe that each region has to be clearly defined and that arrangements have to be determined freely among the States concerned according to clear principles, some of which I shall enumerate here: respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, inviolability of internationally recognized boundaries, non-resort to force in the settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs, and dialogue and mutual understanding.

(Mr. Naimi-Arfa, Islamic Republic of Iran)

It is imperative to emphasize that formulas cannot be duplicated or imposed from outside and that no region can be dependent for its security on outside forces. In fact, the presence of foreign forces has historically resulted in domestic instability within the host countries and heightened the existing tensions between these countries and other regional States. Therefore, my country has always maintained its opposition to the presence of foreign forces in any region, particularly in the Persian Gulf area. The underlying principle in our approach towards regional security is cooperation among the countries of the region in areas of common interest, on the one hand, and confidence building in areas of historical concern and mistrust, on the other. This approach stands in sharp contrast to the formation of competing blocs which would naturally entrench and sharpen historical divisions and rivalries, and thereby pave the way for foreign forces to come in.

Based on this principled approach, we believe that the problems of the Persian Gulf, which have resulted in two disastrous wars in the span of just one decade, can be tackled. The Persian Gulf countries share deep-rooted bonds of religion, history, culture and commerce. More importantly, their security and economic well-being are interdependent, albeit to varying degrees, on a secure Persian Gulf. These are the foundations for cooperation among us. Mutual arrangements in areas such as oil production and export policy, reconstruction and development programmes, and the economic, technical, social, cultural and humanitarian fields could prove extremely helpful in further fostering confidence and mitigating mistrust.

(Mr. Naimi-Arfa, Islamic Republic of Iran)

Other confidence-building measures, such as mutual commitment to the principle which was mentioned earlier, might also provide a positive and constructive step in this regard. In addition to these principles, we think that unconditional commitment by all Persian Gulf States to the unimpeded commercial use of the Persian Gulf and the Sea of Oman, coupled with the free flow of resources to and from the region, will be of great importance in the formatting of a sound security arrangement in our region. It is also possible to envisage, with the help of the United Nations, the gradual creation of verification mechanisms and the development of responsible and balanced methods of arms control, in particular with regard to weapons of mass destruction.

It must be emphasized here that any regional disarmament and arms limitation scheme must be balanced and take into full account the necessity of not diminishing the security of the Persian Gulf countries within the larger context of the Middle East as well as the South-West Asian regions. Moreover, we must once again emphasize our opposition to the presence of foreign forces in our region, since it is in direct contradiction to the objectives of regional security.

We believe that all countries of the Persian Gulf region must be included in the security and cooperation arrangements in the Persian Gulf area. Any exclusion will be the seed of future mistrust, tension and crisis. Furthermore, to prevent the domination and/or imposition of the views of any single country or group of countries, arrangements should be envisaged within the framework of the United Nations and with the cooperation of its Secretary-General. The necessary institutional framework has already been provided in Security Council resolution 598 (1987).

(Mr. Naimi-Arfa, Islamic Republic of Iran)

We think that the participation of the United Nations and the Secretary-General, with the assurances and guarantees that it would generate, should mitigate some of the immediate concerns among the Persian Gulf States, particularly the smaller ones. In addition, such a United Nations role, furnishing the necessary umbrellas, would also provide the international community with assurances as well as the mechanisms for safeguarding its legitimate interests. The United Nations would also provide the necessary linkage with regard to issues that go beyond the boundaries of this or any subsystem. A good example, as my delegation indicated earlier, is the area of arms limitation. Therefore, while maintaining the necessary international character and linkage, the area would not be so large as to make its issues unmanageable.

Towards this end we have already taken quite a few significant steps. A process of dialogue has already started among the countries of the Persian Gulf region. The Secretary-General, in his recent trip to Iran and Saudi Arabia, held extensive and fruitful consultations with Iranian officials and the Foreign Ministers of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries concerning the implementation of paragraph 8 of Security Council resolution 598 (1987), which deals with regional security arrangements. He has reported a very positive impression of these talks and plans to follow up on these consultations. At the same time, diplomatic contacts and visits between GCC members and the Islamic Republic of Iran have also significantly increased.

While the countries of the Persian Gulf region have also expanded their cooperation in the economic and technical fields, cooperation in the area of the environment remains an urgent necessity and has progressed steadily within the context of the Regional Organization for the Protection of the Marine

(Mr. Naimi-Arfa, Islamic Republic of Iran)

Environment, as well as through bilateral arrangements, including the successful participation of Iranian experts in controlling and extinguishing Kuwaiti oil-well fires. The International Conference on Oil in the 1990s, convened in Iran last June with the participation of oil producers and consumers as well as oil companies, and in which a number of high ranking officials from Persian Gulf States participated, was yet another practical step forward not only to promote cooperation in this vital area, but also to foster regional and international confidence.

We know that the establishment of a viable programme for regional security and cooperation in the Persian Gulf area is not an easy task. While some may be tempted to fall into the old trap of inviting outside forces or forming military alliances and blocs, it is essential to build a new system in this strategic region, based on the lessons that we have learned from the past, in order not to repeat the same mistakes. For the Islamic Republic of Iran, this is a fundamental criterion and the basic point of departure.

Mr. SIDOROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Nearing the turn of the century, the world community, having put an end to the cold war, has entered a totally new period of its development. Within a brief historical period, important advances have been made in the field of disarmament, in the European process and in overcoming a number of regional crises. The threat of a global nuclear-missile catastrophe has in fact been removed. A truly historical breakthrough in the strengthening of military and political stability was achieved when the Soviet-United States Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty was signed in Moscow.

(Mr. Sidorov, USSR)

It marked yet another important step towards the demilitarization of international politics and a consolidation of the irreversible shift from confrontation to cooperation and trust. The initiative taken this autumn by President Bush of the United States and the reply to it by President Gorbachev of the USSR constituted an important breakthrough towards a denuclearized and secure world.

(Mr. Sidorov, USSR)

The key role of the United Nations as a central link in ensuring global security is being strengthened. The community of nations has begun to engage in unprecedented political dialogue and cooperation to solve the multifaceted problems confronting mankind.

The new realities must be objectively analysed and taken properly into account in working out United Nations approaches to the ensuring of security. They will also make it possible to undertake the creation of a system of solid security based on stability, openness and predictability. In that context, we regard it as necessary to concentrate the world community's efforts on practical solutions to problems on the basis of a balance of interests and full operation of the machinery for ensuring international security under the Charter of the United Nations in combination with measures to strengthen regional security.

The Soviet Union is convinced that the creation of firm structures of global security is indissolubly linked to building up the pan-European house on the principles proclaimed in the Charter of Paris for a New Europe. This requires developing and promoting something which has already received some impetus from integration in Europe in the context of the general movement towards new relationships and the integrality of the world.

An important political task today is that of making maximum use of the peace-keeping potential of the United Nations in settling existing conflicts and preventing new ones. Due attention should be paid to setting up and juridically consolidating mechanisms to deter and halt aggression, on the basis of the Charter, and perfecting the United Nations system of peace-keeping operations. The experience of Namibia and Nicaragua and the operation of the United Nations machinery for resolving the questions of

(Mr. Sidorov, USSR)

Western Sahara, Cambodia, Central America and other problems show that making use of the Organization's capabilities the only way to balance the interests of all parties and solve the most complicated regional problems.

The international community must also actively oppose violence and military conflict inside individual countries, supporting democratic solutions of their internal problems and working to secure respect for human rights everywhere.

We believe that a complex and many-sided joining of United Nations peace-keeping operations with the activities of regional organizations would greatly strengthen the structure of global security. The Soviet Union is convinced that the surest and most sensible course of action in conflict situations is that of open dialogue and collective effort. It is important for all opposing sides, whatever countries of the world they are in, to face each other and realize that nobody can or will have any security at the expense of others.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security has played an essential part in the task of maintaining international peace and security. Since its adoption by the General Assembly in 1970 it has served, in difficult conditions of political, ideological and military confrontation as a positive factor, a role in which it was aided in large measure by many countries, including Yugoslavia. At the present historic juncture in world developments, the fundamental principles of international relations reflected in the Declaration can contribute to establishing a new world order, founded on the principle of freedom of choice, on a balance of global, regional and national interests, on democracy and on humanism.

(Mr. Sidorov, USSR)

Taking into account the profound, positive changes in the international situation, we find it particularly important to bring opposing positions closer together, to channel dialogue on questions considered in the United Nations towards a search for universally acceptable approaches to the Organization's activities and its adaptation to new realities.

The new nature of international relations creates a situation that truly satisfies the requirements for strengthening security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region. The Soviet Union attaches great significance to ensuring security and stability in that important part of the world, which would contribute to the creation of a broad zone of peace and cooperation in the European-Asian and African areas.

The Soviet Union views the strengthening of security in the Mediterranean region as a comprehensive process including parallel steps to settle conflict situations and eliminate hotbeds of conflict, the strengthening of trust between Mediterranean and other States and the development of fruitful regional cooperation in all fields. In that connection, we welcome the initiative of Italy, Spain, France and Portugal to convene a conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean. We are convinced that efforts to strengthen security and cooperation in that region are part of the pan-European process and must be carried on in conjunction with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The Soviet delegation hopes that the businesslike spirit prevailing in this debate in the First Committee will help to translate constructive ideas put forward by various delegations into draft-resolution language acceptable to all and thus contribute in a practical way to strengthening the role of the United Nations in guaranteeing international security.

The CHAIRMAN: I have been informed that the sponsors of the draft resolution under agenda item 68 are still carrying out last-minute negotiations, and they have asked me to postpone the deadline for submitting the draft resolution for half an hour. If the Committee agrees, I am willing to postpone the deadline for half an hour, but no longer. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Committee agrees.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12 noon.

UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records

FIRST COMMITTEE
43rd meeting
held on
Tuesday, 26 November 1991
at 3.45 p.m.
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 43rd MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MROZIEWICZ (Poland)

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The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 67 AND 68 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA ITEMS

Mr. TUN (Myanmar): A just and reliable system of international peace and security is one of the acknowledged goals of all nations. That goal has eluded us in the past four decades but today, now that the cold war is over and the rivalry between power blocs has withered away, there is an unprecedented opportunity to shape a new security order at the global level.

At this important juncture in history we should seek to develop an order in which security is achieved through negotiations, not through intimidation and military might; in which the gap between the North and the South and social injustices are seen as real threats to the peace and stability of the whole world; and in which collective security is sought through the rule of law, not reliance on force. As the Secretary-General has so rightly pointed out in his report on the work of the Organization for this year,

> "the concern that the principles of [the United Nations] Charter should govern the emerging international order continues and is accentuated by all current developments." (A/46/1, section I, second para.)

The promotion of international peace and security calls for the strengthening of the United Nations and for strict adherence to the Charter. The Charter stands as valid today as it did when it was first framed. The basic principles enshrined in it are accepted not just as norms for international conduct between Member States, but as principles of international law applicable to all States.

(Mr. Tun, Myanmar)

As we seek to enhance international peace and security, we should remind ourselves of the important provisions of the Charter, which includes: the principle of sovereign equality of States; fulfilment in good faith of the obligations assumed by Members in accordance with the Charter; peaceful settlement of international disputes; non-use of force; refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State; and, most important, non-intervention in the affairs of other States.

To these binding treaty provisions must be added the principles of peaceful coexistence enunciated at the Bandung Conference in 1955, the declarations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of regional organizations; and successive resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, in particular the 1965 Declaration on intervention, the 1970 friendly relations Declaration and the 1970 Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. These Declarations prohibit the use of economic, political or any other type of coercion to obtain from a State the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights.

It is against that background that my delegation views with concern certain actions and moralistic stances that are likely to erode the cardinal principles of the Charter. As the leader of my delegation, His Excellency U Ohn Gyaw, Minister for Foreign Affairs, reminded the General Assembly in his address on 4 October,

> "Among the developments that are causing serious concern and anxiety, particularly among the small and the weak, are moralistic stances that, in truth, conceal attempts to modify the time-honoured concept of sovereignty and to erode certain cardinal principles

(Mr. Tun, Myanmar)

of the Charter, such as the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, the principle of respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of States, and the principle of the sovereign equality of States." (A/46/PV.22, p. 27)

Regrettably, such attempts are becoming increasingly manifest in the sphere of human rights, notwithstanding the Secretary General's warning that,

> "The maximum caution needs to be exercised lest the defence of human rights becomes a platform for encroaching on the essential domestic jurisdiction of States and eroding their sovereignty. Nothing would be a surer prescription for anarchy than an abuse of this principle." (A/46/1, sect. VI, ninth para.)

There is today a need to ensure fairness and justice. Human rights cannot and should not be championed in one place and disregarded in another. Neither should the focus on human rights be limited to political and civil rights. The promotion of economic, social and cultural rights also deserve to be considered. Indeed, the most urgent and basic human rights that need to be promoted in the developing world are the rights to life and development.

Myanmar attaches the utmost importance to the right of all nations freely to choose their political, economic and social systems, the systems best suited to their own conditions, and firmly believes that it will serve the cause of peace and security if all nations respect this right.

Any consideration of a programme to remove threats to international peace and security must therefore take into account the need to tackle the roots of insecurity - hunger, ignorance, poverty, social inequalities and environmental degradation. In the future world order persistence of wide disparities in the living standards between nations and within nations have no place. The

(Mr. Tun, Myanmar)

process of disarmament that we have been advocating in this Committee and other disarmament forums can in the long run release tremendous resources - now being expended on armaments - for the purpose of raising the standards of living of all States, particularly the developing countries, where the hope for peace is inextricably linked with striving for economic and social progress.

The momentous transformations now taking place provide mankind with an opportunity to build a just and reliable system of international peace and security for all, based on the twin principles of the rule of law and justice. The challenges for the international community remain formidable and greater cooperation and accommodation will be required, but the attainment of a reliable system of international peace and security demands nothing less.

Mr. SOUVANNAVONG (Lao People's Democratic Republic): As this is the first time that I have spoken in the First Committee, allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election and on your introductory statement on our agenda item on international security. May I also offer my congratulations to the other members of the Bureau on their election. I wish at this point to take the opportunity to express our gratitude to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, Mr. Safronchuk, for his constructive contribution to the work of the First Committee.

Over the past year, the world situation has undergone changes; a new era of peace and cooperation has begun, and the risks of nuclear confrontation have progressively lessened. In July 1991, the Soviet Union and the United States concluded a strategic arms reduction Treaty. Also, very recently, through the initiative of President George Bush of the United States, which was then reciprocated by President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union, the possibility has emerged of eliminating tactical nuclear weapons and cancelling some of the military nuclear programmes of the two countries. The fact that this new situation has developed has made our world more secure from the threat of war.

Although the world situation has changed positively, many conflicts and tensions remain far from being solved in various regions of the world, and may ignite war at any moment. The continuing modernization of weapons, including nuclear weapon tests, is still a threat to all mankind. Also, there still exist many other factors of instability which could jeopardize seriously the security of peoples, such as poverty, hunger, malnutrition, disease and illiteracy, and the growing disparities between developed and developing countries.

(Mr. Souvannavong, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

Thus, the need to establish a genuinely fair and reasonable new political and economic order is of paramount importance, and the international community has its part to play in tackling this overreaching concern so as to ensure a solid foundation for a new global pattern of peace and security. In this regard, my delegation fully endorses the remarks made by the Secretary-General in his annual report of 1991 on the work of the Organization:

"... one cannot disregard the existing imbalances and asymmetries within regions that cause recurrent tensions and insecurity". (A/46/1, sect. VII)

In the Asia-Pacific region, the tense problems and conflicts have eased. The admission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea to the United Nations is another important step towards peace and security in the Korean peninsula and the peaceful reunification of the country.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic supports the five-point initiative put forward by the Secretary-General, aimed at settling the conflict in Afghanistan by peaceful means.

Regarding the situation in Cambodia, we welcome the signing of the Paris peace agreement, which will turn Cambodia into an independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country having good relations with all countries, in particular with its close neighbours.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic attaches great importance to the security, stability, peace and development of the region. In this regard, we support all efforts aimed at promoting confidence-building measures at regional and subregional levels in order to ease tensions and strengthen peaceful cooperation and friendship between nations. We are of the view that

(Mr. Souvannavong, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

the States Members of our Organization must cooperate with each other on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality; and mutual benefit, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

Today, the United Nations has a more important role to play than ever before. We expect to see a further strengthening of the role of the United Nations in order to guarantee the interests of all countries and afford them all justice. The Lao People's Democratic Republic, along with all other Member States, is ready to contribute to the strengthening of the United Nations role in maintaining world peace and security.

Mr. GHEZAL (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): My delegation, which had the honour, during the general debate on all disarmament issues, of congratulating you on your unanimous election to the chairmanship of our Committee, would like to take this opportunity today to tell you how gratified we are by the outstanding way in which you have been guiding the work of our Committee, which has been reflected in the broad consensus which has emerged under your leadership on a great number of issues that have been debated here.

The relationship between security and disarmament is no longer a theoretical question. Indeed, in an ever more interdependent world, disarmament, which helps maintain security in military terms, is nowadays no longer the only factor in security, nor is it a universal guarantee of peace. That apart, the survival of humanity is also threatened by other, non-military, dangers, such as underdevelopment, negative economic growth, famines, the foreign debt crisis, environmental degradation and many other equally alarming aspects.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

The general debate on all disarmament issues highlighted the conviction shared by all delegations here that the concept of security is nowadays a global concept which covers not only the military and political, but also the economic, human and social aspects.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

At the same time, we do not yet know whether, at the end of the twentieth century, the challenge of general and complete disarmament in all its forms and manifestations has been met. Rather, a long road still lies ahead of us before that goal can be attained. On the other hand, however, we must not underestimate the great progress made recently in this area, including the signature last November in Paris of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and the signing in July 1990 in Moscow of the agreement in principle on the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, as well as the important statements by President George Bush and President Mikhail Gorbachev on reducing and eliminating several types of strategic and tactical weapons.

My delegation has joined with all the other delegations that have voiced their satisfaction over the progress made and has appealed to all the other military Powers in the world to join in with the United States and Soviet initiative so that our progress in disarmament and its dividends may take ever more concrete form and have an impact in other areas of human activity.

In the light of these remarkable developments, we can only repeat that the military component of international security must be examined even more closely by the great military Powers, because of their responsibility in this area and in the maintenance of international peace and security, and they must redouble their efforts as quickly as possible to remove all the obstacles to general and complete disarmament.

It is therefore particularly important today to understand the complex dual nature of security. This is not shown merely in the absence of war, but also and above all by the existence of serious and positive assurances of non-recourse to the use of force and the establishment of global conditions conducive to peaceful development.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

To act in such a way that mankind is no longer hostage to military arsenals and to promote peaceful development for all States are two closely linked aspects of international security, which it is mainly the responsibility of the great military Powers to ensure, since peace dividends cannot flow automatically from sporadic disarmament initiatives but must also be backed up by sustained parallel action and even form an urgent priority in the present international situation.

My country, Tunisia, a peace-loving country, which devotes its resources to the well-being of its citizens, will remain unswerving in its dedication to the great principles governing this Organization, pleading for peace, understanding and concord. In accord with the pacifist stand that it has chosen, Tunisia has taken part in United Nations peacekeeping operations from 1960 in the Congo, Kinshasa, till the present day in Cambodia.

In the same spirit, my country unreservedly supports the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones free from all types of weapons of mass destruction, and it reacts positively to any action or initiative, on whatever scale, designed to reduce regional and international tensions; and calls for crises and conflicts to be resolved by peaceful means.

Because of the Arab, African and Mediterranean dimensions in which Tunisia exists, my country is firmly convinced that in addition to the need to introduce and encourage disarmament initiatives in our region, it is also of prime importance to solve the conflicts that for decades now have plunged the region into an atmosphere of tension, threatening peace and international security several times in the course of the turbulent history of the region.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

We firmly hope that the Madrid peace conference, in which Tunisia took part as an observer through the intermediary of the Secretary-General of the Arab Maghreb Union, will end without further delay in a just and lasting solution to the Palestine question, so that the Palestinian people can at last win back its legitimate rights under the principles of international law, so that Lebanon can live in peace, and so that the Syrian Arab Republic can regain its sovereignty over the Golan region. Only when these conditions have been fulfilled and these objectives are attained will the peoples of the region be able to live in peace in harmony and understanding on a just and equitable basis.

Regional security is closely linked to universal peace. This link should make all States, large or small, assume greater responsibility for the future of our world, where interdependence has become the cornerstone of international relations and a feature of the world order to which we all aspire.

Because of this conviction, my delegation cannot stress too much the idea that the Mediterranean region remains, along with other regions of the world, one of the keys to international security. A semi-enclosed sea, a basin linking Africa, Europe and the Middle East, in the many thousand years of its history it has seen the birth and rise of great civilizations and has become the legacy of each and every one of us.

The future of the Mediterranean and the prospects for making it a lake of peace, understanding and cooperation have always been a facet of the aspirations to civilization of my country and of its peaceful policy. This

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

political guideline has brought Tunisia and the other countries of the Arab Maghreb Union into positive and fruitful dialogue with the European countries on the northern shores of the Mediterranean, with a view to providing even greater security for this lake and making it a common denominator for the peaceful aspirations of the countries on both its northern and its southern shores.

Today we are trying, through the political, economic, social and human dynamic that has sprung up among the countries along both shores of the Mediterranean, and through the progress so far achieved, to illustrate the enormous prospects for security and economic and cultural cooperation at a regional level, to be gained from gradually eliminating the economic and developmental disparities among the Mediterranean peoples.

It is with the desire to achieve this common destiny that Tunisia is preparing to host, at the beginning of 1992, the summit meeting of the countries of the Arab Maghreb Union and the northern shore of the Mediterranean. The meeting will, we firmly believe, meet the aspirations of the countries involved and thus constitute a further step in the world peace process.

With the end of the cold war and confrontation, only actions carried out in a constructive spirit of agreement can guarantee that the system of peace, security and cooperation established under the Charter of the United Nations can effectively prevent a return to confrontation and ensure that the next few decades will be marked by a new way of moving civilization forward as a unified whole by bringing together the most noble achievements of mankind.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

We know that the road leading to the achievement of these objectives is long, but it is none the less encouraging to note that dialogue has already allowed us to single out a certain number of shared and interdependent elements in a global concept of security. These elements are particularly the "demilitarization" of thought and behaviour, the humanization of international relations and the expansion of peace dividends so that they can serve to benefit all countries and all people.

Only in this way can we make sure that mankind is no longer the hostage of military arsenals but rather the ultimate objective of any and all action to promote peace throughout the world.

Mr. BAEV (Bulgaria): Today we are witnessing a general revival of faith and trust in the United Nations capability to find answers to the challenges facing mankind. Especially high hopes are pinned on its ability to safeguard international peace and security. Unique opportunities are opening up for peoples to build a new world order based on universal security and broad cooperation between States, the supremacy of law, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, effective arms control and dynamic economic and social development. The world Organization is destined to play an important role as a unique, versatile mechanism and centre for harmonizing the interests and actions of States in this direction. Experience accumulated during the cold war period convincingly shows that the use of predominantly military factors in efforts towards safeguarding security inevitably results in an extremely dangerous arms race, the distortion of priorities, the disregard of the need to seek solutions to a number of potentially explosive global problems and ultimately in less security.

(Mr. Baev, Bulgaria)

We can see the first outgrowth of the new world political order in the achievements of the international community in solving by peaceful means the problems of Namibia and Cambodia, in the substantial progress made towards the settlement of the conflicts in Afghanistan, Central America and Western Sahara, and in encouraging signs in relation to the Cyprus question. They also bear relation to the hopes for promoting the peace process in the Middle East. We wholeheartedly wish all success to the upcoming bilateral talks between the parties involved.

New democratic Bulgaria is fully committed to these positive processes and is ready to participate as an integral part in them. The free and genuine elections held last month in my country resulted in forming the first government in 45 years without communist participation, that of the Union of Democratic Forces. My country is turning its face to the future; it has categorically renounced its totalitarian past and irreversibly taken the road of radical democratic changes, swift economic reform along free-market lines, strict conformity with high international standards in human rights, and radical reform of its armed forces. By the end of 1994, Bulgaria will trim its armed forces to the quotas determined by the Vienna Document.

Despite the general positive changes in the world on which we place our hopes for the future, serious old threats to peace and security remain while new ones continue to emerge, namely, national, ethnic and religious conflicts, mass violations of human rights, economic and social misery and environmental disasters. In today's interdependent world there can be no guarantees against the adverse impact of such factors. To us this is undoubtedly a source of concern.

(Mr. Baev, Bulgaria)

I feel bound to voice here my country's serious apprehension about the conflict in neighbouring Yugoslavia, which is acquiring increasingly alarming proportions. Bulgaria has repeatedly pleaded for a political settlement of the crisis and for recognition of the right to self-determination of all parties involved by means of peaceful dialogue and negotiations. We are resolutely against the unilateral redrawing, by force, of the existing borders.

Bulgaria supports the efforts of the international community in the search for solutions to the crisis in Yugoslavia. We follow with particular attention the serious and active efforts of the European Communities in this direction - which unfortunately have not yet succeeded.

We welcome the involvement of the Security Council towards finding a solution to the crisis. Bulgaria is ready to make its contribution, including making available if necessary any facilities - communications, logistics and other conveniences - to observers from the European Communities in the territory of Bulgaria along its border with Yugoslavia. The presence of such observers will demonstrate once again our sincere, good intentions towards our western neighbour and will prevent misunderstanding or disinformation.

A key priority in Bulgaria's new foreign policy is the quest for adequate guarantees for its national security, sovereignty and independence. In this sense, the debate on agenda item 68 is of particular interest to my delegation.

In compliance with Chapter VIII of the Charter, we attach paramount importance to the strengthening of security on a regional and subregional level. In the context of the Balkans, I would like to refer to this year's annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, in which he states:

(Mr. Baev, Bulgaria)

"... one cannot disregard the existing imbalances and asymmetries within regions that cause recurrent tensions and insecurity". (A/46/1, sect. VII)

Such a view is fully in line with the generally shared understanding of the precariousness of balances in the Balkans and the common interest in their preservation. Too much weaponry has already been stockpiled, especially in the corridor between those countries members of the Warsaw Treaty and those members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Such an anachronism is in drastic variance with the new processes in Europe. The Balkans need new approaches in dealing with these problems.

The Bulgarian Head of State recently declared the country's readiness to propose the beginning of a trilateral political dialogue with Greece and Turkey at an appropriate level which should lay the foundations for future constructive consultations. Such consultations on an ongoing basis would not only help clarify existing problems and overcome the legacy of the past, but they could also make it easier to outline relevant decisions in the sphere of regional security and stability.

Bulgaria also relies for its security on the bilateral treaties of friendship and all-round cooperation already signed or pending signature with a number of States with similar or coinciding interests. As a country bordering on the Mediterranean, we appreciate the importance of security-building in this region for the security of the world at large, and we offer our support and concrete cooperation to the efforts of all States concerned.

Bulgaria looks forward to its integration in the European structures, namely, the prospective signing of an agreement of association with the European Communities and its admission to full membership of the Council of Europe. We expect these to open up opportunities for broad political,

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economic and other cooperation, including cooperation on various aspects of security. In this context we also attach great importance to promoting our cooperation with the Western European Union.

Guided by a desire to contribute actively to efforts at strengthening security, Bulgaria intends to act as host in the coming year to a broadly representative international conference on matters of regional security in Europe.

We see our inherent national interest in the establishment of an integral Euro-Atlantic space based on universally recognized democratic values that would make it possible to use ever more fully the positive potential of the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in eliminating threats and challenges to stability in Europe at present. Conflict prevention and crisis management are the two main tasks the solution of which should be sought more actively and efficiently within the framework of the new institutions, structures and mechanisms of the European process.

Bulgaria regards NATO as a major factor providing assurances for its security. As the Bulgarian President, Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev, stated recently in his speech in the Council of NATO,

> "The decisions [of NATO] made in Rome have a paramount importance for the future not only of NATO, but of the entire architecture of European security. These decisions are positive proof that NATO will continue to live up to its role as a guarantor of security and mainstay of stability in the emerging Euro-Atlantic community."

(Mr. Baev, Bulgaria)

Indeed, NATO's Rome Declaration of 8 November marks another major step forward in this direction, as well as a decisive contribution to the establishment of a new European peace order. It supplements the transatlantic link between the democracies of Europe and those of North America with a new "eastern dimension" of qualitatively new relations in a partnership with the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. The consultations that now take place by way of periodic meetings between the Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors of the new European democracies and the North Atlantic Council will make possible the early inclusion in the decision-making process of the issues of security and stability in the eastern parts of the continent.

The new international climate provides the United Nations with favourable opportunities to act as an effective mechanism for the maintenance of international peace and security, as conceived by the Organization's founders. We attach great significance to the Security Council's ability to perform its duties effectively in this vital sphere. At the same time we stress that the Council's decisions must be strictly observed. Ample evidence of the great potential in this field has been provided by the world Organization's concerted action in connection with the Persian Gulf crisis and by its growing role in the settlement of regional conflicts.

At the same time, as a result of the humanitarian and environmental consequences of the Gulf War, the international community must in future devote much greater attention to fuller utilization of the potential of preventive diplomacy in the early identification and avoidance of potential crises.

(Mr. Baev, Bulgaria)

Today, the interdependence of States and regions is becoming more clear-cut. Certain long-dormant threats to security are becoming increasingly tangible, and firmer and more resolute discouragement is therefore necessary. In this respect a particularly alarming factor is the uncontrollable spread of high technology, which may result in the acquisition by aggressive and irresponsible regimes, of weapons of mass destruction, as well as their delivery systems, or in the stockpiling of modern conventional weapons in destabilizing quantities - quantities far in excess of States' legitimate self-defence needs. Such tendencies are especially alarming when they are detected in regions charged with tension and potential conflict.

An important means of preventing such alarming tendencies is comprehensive encouragement and enhancement, under United Nations auspices, of openness, confidence and stability in all aspects of security. To these ends, Bulgaria fully supports and will participate in the process - a process begun at this session - of creating adequate machinery for the collection and registration of relevant data.

Clearly, the building of the new world political order of universal security and cooperation between States will be a long, phased process, in which the United Nations will play a leading role. In this respect, an important place will no doubt be allocated to the First Committee. Bulgaria stands ready to do all it can to contribute to the success of this noble endeavour.

Mr. CAMILLERI (Malta): The demise of the era of super-Power confrontation has introduced new and significant elements into the debate on international security. With the removal of the constraints of global

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strategic considerations, a number of political, ethnic and national rivalries have arisen, or re-emerged, to challenge and disturb regional and international peace and stability. At the same time, long-standing regional problems have reared their heads, with a sharpened and more clearly focused intensity.

On the positive side, the international community has started to display, at both regional and global levels, an encouraging unity of purpose and readiness to act collectively in the pursuit of solutions to problems that threaten peace and security.

The conflict in the Gulf has been seen by many as an early and dramatic manifestation of the challenges, as well as the opportunities, that exist in the emerging world order. It should be remembered, however, that the Gulf experience occurred very shortly after the early stages of the dismantlement of the old world order. Both in its genesis and in the manner of its resolution, that conflict therefore contained elements of both the old and the new.

The most disturbing aspect of the Gulf situation was the massive use of force and the destruction, suffering and loss of life involved in securing what in some respects remains an incomplete resolution of the root problem. The most positive aspect of the situation lies in the determination, promptness and effectiveness with which the international community, working through the Security Council, resolved to take concerted action to liberate a victim of aggression.

The Gulf experience teaches that the resolution of problems that threaten international peace and legality requires tremendous determination and resourcefulness. It requires also a truly genuine consensus within the

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international community with regard to the course of action to be followed in specific situations. In the forging of this consensus the role of the General Assembly, as the only truly universal international forum, should not be underestimated.

The General Assembly has another important role to play - an important role in addition to the building of consensus in respect of individual issues. This concerns the need to ensure that the same principles inspire equally the international community's approaches to all issues that threaten peace and security.

Unfortunately, there are many situations - they are to be found in most regions of the world - that threaten peace and security and challenge and test the readiness and capacity of the international community to search for just and lasting solutions. Perhaps the greatest challenge lies in the long-festering difficulties of the Middle East. The international community has agonized interminably over the problem - in particular, its core issue: the question of Palestine.

The last few months have seen an intensification of the efforts to launch a peace process in the Middle East. These efforts culminated in the opening of the peace conference in Madrid - a conference that takes much of its inspiration from the relevant Security Council resolutions, especially resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), as well as from the General Assembly's proposals for the International Peace Conference on the Middle East. A resolution embodying those proposals was adopted by the Assembly at its thirty-first session, and similar resolutions were adopted annually thereafter.

Malta welcomes and supports the process that was launched in Madrid. We hope that, in spite of the many difficulties that lie ahead, all the parties will persevere - will stick to the path of dialogue and peace - and display

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the spirit of understanding and compromise that is indispensable if there is to be a just and lasting solution to the problem.

We see in the peace process that was launched in Madrid many of the new and positive elements that now characterize the approach to issues of peace and security - the absence of global strategic considerations that magnify and compound problems of a regional nature; the readiness of the international community to participate with the parties directly involved and to assist them in their search for just and lasting solutions; the collective determination to seek such solutions through peaceful dialogue rather than through resort to the use of arms.

In the case of other problems of a regional nature this approach is achieving positive results. This is especially so in the case of Cambodia, but it is evident in Afghanistan, Cyprus, Western Sahara, Central America and various parts of Africa also.

One significant characteristic of the new approach is the increasingly important role of regional participants in the initiatives aimed at securing solutions to regional problems. We see this tendency also in the region of the Mediterranean, where there has never been any lack of problems that, though of a regional nature, have serious and far-reaching implications for European and, indeed, for global peace and security.

The particular relevance of Mediterranean problems to the wider issues of global peace and security arises from the fact that the region lies on the axis of what used to be the East-West divide and what continues to be the North-South divide.

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

The vestiges of the old super-Power confrontation are progressively being dismantled, even in our region. The 1987 Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty - saw the removal of land-based intermediate nuclear missiles from our vicinity. This year, following unilateral decisions by the United States and by the Soviet Union no longer to deploy tactical nuclear missiles on naval vessels, there is now a prospect that the ban will be extended to the seas surrounding us.

As an unarmed country in the centre of the Mediterranean - a country whose security is directly affected by the process of regional peace and the fostering of good-neighbourliness - Malta welcomes and encourages these developments. Like our regional neighbours, we are aware that the fundamental problems of our region have as much to do with the human dimension as with the military dimension.

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The marked social, cultural and economic diversity that has traditionally characterized life along the shores of our region has historically served both as a unifying and a dividing factor. It is for this reason that even in their division, Mediterranean peoples can still find elements that bring them together. In this spirit, and in the light of its strategic geopolitical situation, Malta has been a meeting-place for Mediterranean peoples and cultures and seeks to make its contribution to the promotion of cooperation and understanding in our region.

This need is especially felt at the present time, when the growing gap between North and South is also being reflected in the deepening economic disparities between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean and the human dislocation that it engenders. In the face of this reality, 10 States of the region have launched the initiative of the Western Mediterranean Forum to consider and discuss in particular those problems that arise in the context of the combination of geographical proximity and economic disparity. Following an extended preparatory process of consultation, the 10 countries of the Western Mediterranean Forum agreed in Algiers last month to hold their first summit meeting early next year in Tunisia.

The initiative of the Western Mediterranean Forum is unfolding within the framework of a wider process of Mediterranean consultation on the whole range of issues that affect security and cooperation in the region and beyond. The idea of launching a conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean, modelled on the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, is attracting increasing interest and support in our region. The objective of the conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean would be primarily to intensify the process of cooperation and

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confidence-building within the region, thereby promoting conditions that would also contribute to the resolution of specific regional problems.

In this context, long-standing initiatives for Mediterranean cooperation, in particular the Action Plan for the Protection of the Mediterranean Environment that has now been in place for over 15 years, together with more recent initiatives including the establishment of the Arab Maghreb Union and the launching of the Western Mediterranean Forum, can be seen as building-blocks for the wider process of regional cooperation.

The varied initiatives that the countries in the Mediterranean are taking to promote regional cooperation are in themselves a reflection of the awareness that in the Mediterranean, as in other regions, the responsibility for enhancing regional security lies primarily with the regional States themselves.

There is, nevertheless, also a clear awareness of the threat to international peace and security posed by many of the problems they face. For this reason, the involvement of the wider international community, in particular through the United Nations, is required.

This is evidently the case with respect not only to such long-standing problems as that of the Middle East, the question of Cyprus or the question of Western Sahara, where the mediating and peace-making role of the United Nations is well recognized and deeply appreciated; it is also the case with the more recent problem that has erupted in Yugoslavia, where the need has been felt for the mediating role at the European level to be complemented by the direct involvement of the United Nations.

The issues that arise in the context of the troubles in Yugoslavia revive concerns over the relationship between ethnic identity and national unity,

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issues that had long been thought buried on the European continent, issues that also threaten to arise in the unfolding of events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. During the course of this century, such issues have demonstrated their power for both good and evil and their relevance to matters of regional and international security. In the light of these concerns and in view of the human suffering that is taking place in Yugoslavia, the international community is called upon to play a mediating and peace-keeping role.

A number of speakers in this debate have commented on the formal distiuction our Committee makes between items on disarmament and those on international security. The point has been made that this is an artificial distinction in the light of the close relationship that exists between these two subjects and the particular responsibilities of the First Committee in this regard.

We see merit in these observations. At the same time, it is evident that questions of international security encompass matters well beyond those specifically relating to disarmament questions, a point I have tried to bring out in my earlier observations. In our efforts to improve the effectiveness of our deliberations, efforts that my delegation firmly supports, we should not lose sight of this fact.

Mr. ALMUAKKAF (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, (interpretation from Arabic): I shall speak on the agenda item concerning the strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region.

The Mediterranean region's strategic position is far more important than that of many other regions in the world. The Mediterranean Sea links the world's three largest continents and connects them with the world's other

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continents. Furthermore, it is an important artery of navigation, aviation and international trade.

However, this excellent position has made the region a coveted prize for many competing and clashing forces which have vied with one another in trying to impose their influence and dominion on the region. The situation in our region, therefore, has become a rather special one in comparison to that of other regions of the world. Competition and conflict over the region have continued unabated to this day, in many shapes and forms. There are foreign navies and foreign military bases in some parts of the region. The presence of those navies and bases threatens the security and stability of the States of the region and surrounding States, increases tension and creates instability in the region, thus affecting adversely international peace and security.

In addition, the Israelis continue to acquire and develop nuclear capabilities and delivery systems through their condemned collaboration with the abhorrent regime in South Africa. This poses a real threat, not only to the peoples and countries of the Mediterranean region, but also to large parts of the three continents that are linked by the Mediterranean Sea. It also obstructs international efforts to promote cooperation and understanding in the region and the efforts aimed at nuclear disarmament and the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free-zone in the Mediterranean.

The situation is further aggravated by the Israelis' use of the Mediterranean as a test area for their medium-range missiles, which have the capability of delivering their nuclear warheads to their targets in the region. This also threatens the security of regional States: one of those missiles fell close to the Libyan coast on 14 June 1986.

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It is high time the international community woke up and took all the measures necessary to put an end to all forms of collaboration with Israel, particularly by some of the major nuclear States. The Israelis must be forced to abide by General Assembly resolutions, and Security Council resolution 487 (1981) which call for subjecting all installations to the safeguards regime of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The Israelis must also be forced to acquiesce in all initiatives aimed at making the Mediterranean region a nuclear-free zone and a region of peace and tranquillity through accession to the regime of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

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Furthermore, denial of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, including the right to self-determination, and the establishment of its national State, together with other problems are fundamental obstacles that prevent the establishment of security, cooperation and peace in the Mediterranean region.

The presence of large foreign navies in the Mediterranean Sea, together with the existence in the region of foreign arsenals, bases and support facilities, as well as agreements of strategic cooperation threaten the peace and security of the Mediterranean. Military manoeuvres which stem from military designs or result from military agreements threaten the peace, security and stability of the States of the region, increase tension and force States to defend themselves at the expense of their development budgets. Those navies and bases have been used in many instances in threatening the peoples of our region and other neighbouring regions and in committing acts of provocation as well as direct and indirect acts of aggression against those peoples.

Naval and air manoeuvres continue to be conducted close to the Libyan coast by States from outside the region. The repeated overt military attacks against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya are the most telling proof of this. The Libyan Arab people still suffers the consequences of the brutal air raid against Tripoli and Benghazi, in April 1986. The aim of that raid was the destruction of civilian neighbourhoods, the killing of innocent people and the physical liquidation of the leader of the revolution under empty pretexts which the whole world knows to be untrue. So was the shooting down over the Mediterranean of the two Libyan reconnaissance aircraft in January 1989. That also goes to prove the point. In addition, the foreign military presence and continuing military manoeuvres hamper maritime activities, trade, prospecting

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and fishing. They jam communications and have a deleterious effect on the marine environment, which they pollute. Thus the marine resources and the entire marine environment of the Mediterranean, are put at risk, especially due to the fact that the waters of the Mediterranean are not constantly renewed.

The Minister for External Affairs and Foreign Relations of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya pointed out those facts in his statement before the General Assembly when he said: "We still repeat our call to transform the Mediterranean into a lake of peace and cultural exchange and to remove weapons of mass destruction, foreign fleets and bases from it. It should become a model of cooperation between peoples in the north and in the south and an embodiment of the slogan, 'No aggression, no invasion, but continued peace and tranquillity, a source of food for the hungry and a shelter from fear.'"

My country has supported all the draft resolutions proposed by States members of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries concerning the strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region and turning it into a sea of peace and cooperation. Let me just mention as an example the resolutions adopted at the Valletta conference of 1986, the New Delhi conference of 1986, the Harare summit meeting of 1986 and the Brioni summit meeting of 1987, the Belgrade summit meeting of 1989, the Algiers summit meeting of 1990 and the Accra summit meeting of 1991. All the relevant recommendations and resolutions adopted at these conferences of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries called for linking the Mediterranean region with the European security arrangement, and for turning this region into a region of cooperation and security. The resolutions adopted in those forums also called for an end to all coercive measures which prevented cooperation and

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development efforts, and for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, rather than by the use of force or the threat of the use of force, in order that those objectives may be achieved.

My delegation participated responsibly and effectively in the meetings on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region between the European Mediterranean countries and the Arab Maghreb countries of the Mediterranean, including the ministerial meeting held in Algiers in October 1991 and the two meetings held in Morocco and Belgium in the same year. My country also has established excellent relations with other Mediterranean countries, as well as the northern and southern Mediterranean littoral States. Libya also joined the Arab Maghreb Union, in order to contribute to the promotion of ties of friendship, cooperation, stability, peace and security on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law: namely the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence of other States, non-interference in their internal affairs, the non-use of force or threat of the use of force, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and respect for the sovereignty of States over their natural resources.

My delegation supports and welcomes the decision by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the non-deployment of tactical nuclear weapons in their naval forces.

My country supports all United Nations resolutions relating to peace and security in the Mediterranean region and emphasizes the significant role which must be entrusted to the United Nations in laying the principal and effective foundations of peace and security in the region, and in transforming the Mediterranean into a sea of peace and security.

Mr. KAKOURIS (Cyprus): International security, both as a concept and as an imperative, has taken on added dimensions in the evolving world order emerging in post-cold-war international relations. The changing international political landscape in the wake of the shift away from bloc politics and security concepts based on the precarious balance of deterrence, or doctrines of military superiority, demonstrates both the relevance and the urgent need for a collective security system to maintain international peace and security. In its place, a new spirit of international solidarity and cooperation is emerging at the forefront of relations between States.

Nowhere has this new-found spirit manifested itself in clearer form than in the attitude of the international community to the central role of the United Nations in international relations. There is increasing recognition that democracy and international security can be achieved only by moving the United Nations and the purposes and principles that its Charter espouses to the front line of international relations. An extension of the increasing respect for, and reliance on, the United Nations is the growing recognition that the peaceful settlement of disputes must be the epicentre round which relations between States revolve.

The response of the United Nations to the invasion and occupation of Kuwait demonstrated the new-found commonality of approach by the international community to both address and redress effectively aggression by one State against another, particularly where that aggression is perpetrated by a larger, militarily more powerful neighbour. The response of the international community also demonstrated the new-found resolve that resolutions of the United Nations must be implemented universally, and not selectively.

(Mr. Kakouris, Cyprus)

In his address before the General Assembly on 27 September 1991, the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. George Vassiliou, stated that

> "even more important than addressing aggression is the need to create a system of making such acts of aggression impossible and of helping to reverse similar situations that still persist. Conflict prevention and conflict resolution have always been and continue to be major objectives of the United Nations". (A/46/PV.12, p. 6)

It is through conflict prevention and conflict resolution under the umbrella of the collective security system within the parameters of the Charter of the United Nations that the community of nations, both individually and collectively, can lay the solid foundations necessary for international peace and security. In his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General dealt extensively with this matter, stating that "a renewed emphasis is rightly being placed on the need for preventive diplomacy". (A/46/1, sect. V)

The international community, no longer stifled by the former East-West divide, has demonstrated a spirit of dialogue and peace over conflict and confrontation. We welcome in this regard the commitment of the United States of America and the Soviet Union to play a more constructive role in resolving conflict situations and crises. We welcome also the elevation of the Security Council's role in dealing with matters of international security to that envisaged in the Charter. The net result of this emerging spirit has been the solution of many long-standing regional conflicts with the increased participation and effectiveness of a metamorphosed United Nations. It is my delegation's sincere hope that other regional conflicts which continue to pose a threat to international peace and security will also be beneficiaries of

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this trend. The walls of division are being dismantled in many regions of the world, making continuing divisions of countries anachronistic remnants of a confrontational past. The international community by and large has given the clear message that the world we are resolved to build will be void of such divisions, though there are some who have yet to commit themselves through their actions to this end. My own country, Cyprus, and its people yearn for the day when the wall of division that separates Cypriot from Cypriot will, too, be swept aside through a just and viable negotiated settlement.

We must, however, guard against being swept away by the tide of euphoria that has swelled in the wake of the end of bloc politics and the extension of democracy and democratic processes to additional regions of the world. We must not allow ourselves to be hoodwinked into not recognizing that destabilizing factors still exist. New elements of tension are appearing, undermining our efforts to cement the positive aspects of the radical changes in global affairs whereby security, democracy, human rights and a basic level of development are standard fare and not mere luxuries.

We must also recognize that security can no longer be viewed within the narrow confines of military considerations. The security of an individual society as well as that of the collective society of nations is multifaceted, built upon democracy, freedom, justice, economic development, human rights, social development and environmental protection - not merely upon the military component. In fact, the arms race and the level of armaments have been, and continue to be, sources of major instability in that they have diverted much-needed funds from other fields. The Secretary-General clearly illuminated this concern when he said in his report:

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"Another principal source of chronic instability is the militarization of human society represented by the level of armaments and military outlays in the world today. The unconscionable waste of resources and energies is only one of its results. Equally deleterious is the obsession with military security, which has corroded international relations and hampered the advance of most developing countries towards stable democratic institutions." (A/46/1, sect. VII)

International security cannot be achieved by arming to the hilt. The link between disarmament and international security is inextricable, and all efforts aimed at lower levels of armaments are not only welcomed but essential if international peace and security are to become a reality.

The inextricable link between disarmament and international security is also an issue that concerns the work of this Committee. My delegation listened with interest to the proposal of the delegation of Canada that it might be time to reconsider the structure of our agenda, and we feel that serious consideration should be given to the proposal and its merits.

In the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), of which Cyprus is an active member, it was recently reaffirmed through the signing of the Charter of Paris in November 1990 that the concept of security is multidimensional and encompasses the factors of the equation which I have already outlined. Together all of these elements make up democratic society. The CSCE process adds its weight also to the position that the United Nations was never intended to monopolize the peace process - without, however, detracting from recognition of the centrality of the United Nations in the international system. Regional arrangements of this nature are envisaged in the Charter, and where such bodies as the CSCE proceed in accordance with the

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purposes and principles of the Charter, they are complementary to the United Nations by virtue of the important role they play in regional security in particular and international security in general.

Security in a particular region can rarely be seen in the limited context of its own geography. This principle applies to the Mediterranean and its proximity to Europe and the Middle East. The link between security in Europe and the Mediterranean, for example, was recognized in the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 and in the various CSCE follow-up meetings.

The inextricable link between Europe and the Mediterranean was reaffirmed in the Charter of Paris, signed in 1990, which stated that security and cooperation in the Mediterranean are important factors for stability in Europe. In Paris, the Secretary-General substantiated this long-acknowledged fact by remarking in his statement that the Cyprus problem is a European one, the solution of which is long overdue.

The Republic of Cyprus has on previous occasions joined other Mediterranean countries in calling for the establishment amongst the qualifying States of a conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean. Such a conference will be particularly important to the process of promoting and enhancing security and cooperation in the region. We welcome therefore the fact that support for a conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean is embraced by many countries of the region, and that initiatives and efforts for greater cooperation are being undertaken.

I would wish to take this opportunity to reiterate the commitment of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus to the promotion of the Mediterranean region as a zone of security, peace and cooperation, free from conflict and confrontation. My delegation wishes to emphasize the imperative need - as

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stated in paragraph 8 of resolution 45/79, entitled "Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean Region" - for the

> "just and peaceful settlement of persistent problems in the region, for respecting and safeguarding the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all countries and peoples of the Mediterranean and for full adherence to the principles of non-use of force or threat of use of force and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, in accordance with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations".

That resolution was adopted without a vote.

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It is the express hope of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus that the persistent conflicts and tensions that exist in the Mediterranean region, including that of the division of my own country Cyprus, with the continuing illegal occupation of part of its territory by Turkish forces, will in this climate of dialogue and cooperation, as well as with the recognition of the primacy of international law and the peaceful settlement of disputes, be solved in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions.

I would also wish on this occasion to reiterate my Government's continued commitment in this regard to a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem to the benefit of all Cypriots, thereby positively contributing to peace and security in the region and to international peace and security in general. Cyprus cannot remain a lone figure of division and, as an extension, a symbol of the confrontational past.

We are indeed at the crossroads of history. We have however the luxury of hindsight and the recognition of our previous perilously misguided direction and perceptions of security from which to draw in order to build a society of nations drawing on and utilizing a revitalized United Nations. Each of us, large and small, can contribute through collective effort. However, we must remember that the United Nations will only be as effective as the input that we, the Member States, afford it.

In conclusion, let me say that if the path of dialogue and peace on which we have embarked leads us to our destination, we will need to look no further for guidance than to the beginning of the Charter - and Chapter I, Article 1. Let those words be our springboard to the world of peace and security. As the

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preamble to the Charter states: "We the peoples of the United Nations" - are indeed - "determined". Our future depends on having this determination translated from words into deeds.

Mr. RAZALI (Malaysia): In the last few years we have witnessed dramatic developments, including the end of the cold war, the birth of a new era of East-West cooperation and the spread of democracy and free enterprire in various parts of the world.

The changes have been so significant that there is now a new focus on how to deal with the question of international peace and security. In the ongoing debate on the subject, it is becoming increasingly clear that the notion of peace and security goes beyond past traditional ideas. The magnitude and seriousness of problems, such as drug abuse, the illegal trafficking of drugs and arms, refugees, poverty and the debt burden, are such that they are affecting the security and even the survival of States.

Tragically, in a number of Eastern European countries the spread of democracy has brought in its wake the revival of old religious and ethnic rivalries, which threaten to tear nations apart and could involve inter-State disputes, if not brought under control. In certain parts of Europe, there seems to be a rise in racism targeted against migrant workers and refugees - this taking place in countries which profess to be leading advocates of democracy and human rights. This is a cause of serious concern, which the international community must consider.

Another dimension of the changes taking place which has brought a new threat to international peace and stability is the widening gap in the North-South economic status and overall relations. The situation has been

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exacerbated by the tendency on the part of certain countries in the North, especially when they no longer need to worry about having to cope with rival ideological blocs, to dictate to the South in ways that border on the imposition of certain ideas and values and raise fears about new forms of intervention in the domestic affairs of the countries of the South. I should like to borrow the words of my Prime Minister, Mr. Mohamed Mahathir, when he addressed the General Assembly on 24 September 1991. He said:

"Hegemony by democratic Powers is no less oppressive than hegemony by totalitarian States." (A/46/PV.7, p. 83)

One significant positive development in the still-unfolding changes in the international environment is the increasing interest in using the United Nations as a forum for building consensus in addressing regional conflicts and in reforming and revitalizing its role in the social and economic fields.

The new mood of cooperation at the United Nations, including that of the permanent members of the Security Council, has brought about the settlement of a number of regional disputes by peaceful means, involving the important role of the United Nations in Namibia, in the situation between Iran and Iraq, in Angola, Western Sahara and Cambodia. At a time when hopes were raised by all these encouraging developments, we were suddenly confronted by the events of August 1990. While it can be said that Kuwait was liberated by a United Nations enforcement action, renewing hopes regarding collective security, the conduct of the war raised many questions about the need to take a serious look at the reform of the Charter to ensure that the provisions for future collective enforcement action under Chapter VII are workable and effective, so that the United Nations need no longer rely on basically one nation to

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undertake enforcement action in the name of the United Nations without adequate accountability to the Council and the general membership of the Organization.

The most important lesson learned is that with the destructive power of modern technology and weapons, war as a means of resolving conflict, even within a United Nations framework, carries too high a toll in human and material terms, affecting so many countries. Therefore it must now be the primary objective of the United Nations system to give top priority to developing a mechanism of preventive diplomacy in order to deter the outbreak of conflicts in the first place.

Such a mechanism must include an early-warning system, coupled with a pro-active role on the part of the Secretary-General and the Security Council, enabling them to be involved early enough in situations and to act quickly and decisively to prevent the outbreak of a conflict. The Secretary-General, in particular, should be given free rein to act in pursuit of preventive diplomacy, and to be effective he must have the confidence and support of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Preventive diplomacy may even require the stationing of a United Nations peace-keeping force to deter the outbreak of an armed conflict.

While close cooperation among the five permanent members is essential to the effective functioning of the Security Council, there is concern over the tendency to conduct much of their substantive work within the confines of the group, turning it into an exclusive club. At a time when the reform process within the United Nations seeks - among other things - to encourage transparency, democracy and accountability, the Security Council, especially

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when it is proving to be effective in addressing regional conflicts, should not conduct its work in a contrary way. Not only should there be open discussion within the Council but on important issues the views of the broad membership of the United Nations should be taken into consideration in the spirit of Article 24 of the Charter.

In the context of enhancing the centrality of the United Nations role in the maintenance of peace and security, the time has also come for the United Nations to be directly and actively involved in questions relating to all aspects of arms control and disarmament. In this connection, the Malaysian delegation believes that the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee on the register of armaments, aimed at bringing about transparency in the transfer, production and stockpiling of weapons, would help to build trust and confidence among nations. We also hope that the process will bring about transparency and limit the transfer of technology, including that which could be used in the production of weapons of mass destruction. It is also our hope that in time the process will bring about a general reduction of expenditure on armaments that will enable the world to enjoy the benefits of the peace dividend and redirect funds towards international development financing.

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The international community should take the opportunity provided by the growing interest in the reform and revitalization of the United Nations in the economic and social fields to increase international cooperation that would enable the world community to jointly address many of the economic and social issues that have an important bearing on the overall question of global peace and security. Truly, the question of international peace and security as perceived in the traditional sense and the various social and economic issues confronting the world today are two sides of the same coin. The world cannot hope to have lasting peace and stability without the determination of the international community to address the two sets of problems as matters of equal importance. In this regard, the United Nations by its universal nature - its membership has now grown to 166 countries - would have a unique role to play. The ongoing reform processes within the United Nations system, if pursued with a proper programme of action and within a reasonable time frame, would enable the United Nations to fulfil that role. My delegation hopes that the Members of the United Nations will rise to that challenge.

Mr. KONIK (Poland): I asked for the floor to correct the statement made to this Committee at its 41st meeting, on 25 November, by a member of the Polish delegation. When the representative of Poland, Mr. Jan Woroniecki, addressed the Committee on behalf of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, the Republic of Hungary and the Republic of Poland yesterday afternoon, the following concluding passage was inadvertently omitted from the text as delivered. That passage, which is an integral part of the statement, reads as follows:

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"In the opinion of the Triangle States, therefore, the Committee could, in the future, pursue this way of dealing with security issues, since in a new political environment, free from ideological feuds, the United Nations should be pursuing a realistic approach in this regard and concentrate its efforts on the elaboration of less spectacular but definitely more practical guidelines for those States or groups of States which are interested in shaping up their own security arrangements."

I would like to request that the omitted passage of this statement be duly incorporated in the verbatim records of this Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: The correction made by the representative of Poland will be included in the records of the Committee.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.